October 1955

Fellowship

KIYOSHI TANIMOTO *Pastor*

30¢

Antidote to Fear

by Mahlon R. Hagerty, Jr.

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COVER PHOTO: Kiyoshi Tanimoto of Hiroshima.

FELLOWSHIP

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The WORLD in FOCUS

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Failure

The dramatic FOR-sponsored Food-for-China campaign, which for almost a year attempted to persuade the United States Government to offer some of its $6 billion food surplus to flood victims in mainland China, gradually petered out into inactivity this summer with the offer still not made.

On the surface the campaign was a failure. Although it aroused the enthusiastic participation of thousands of FOR members and other Americans, it failed to budge the State Department from its position. No food was offered or sent, despite unofficial information that other, non-Communist Asian countries favored the project and would act as intermediaries if requested. Hungry Chinese who might have been fed presumably went hungry; there is no way of knowing how extensive the suffering was, but the Peiping government did acknowledge in the spring of 1955 that suffering existed.

That was only one side of the story, however. The other side was more hopeful.

No FOR project in years has so captured the imagination, or won so sturdy a response, as the idea that Americans should look upon their hungry "enemies," and feed them. Some 40,000 little grain bags went out of the FOR national office; reports from Washington indicated that most of them showed up, along with letters and petitions, at the White House.

Ministers from one coast to the other preached on the campaign.

The *New York Times* featured it on page 3 of its main news section one Sunday in March, and reprinted the story in its international edition, from which it was picked up and retold by the press of Europe. Other newspapers publicized it, as did church and labor periodicals.

In Washington the Foreign Operations Administration showed enough perturbation to try to persuade the campaign's sponsors to withdraw, which none of them did. The Cabinet is reported to have discussed the proposal, not once but twice. The Secretary of Agriculture suggested that surplus food be sent to Russia, and Senator Flanders interrupted a debate on foreign aid to urge that American planes "bomb" China with surplus food.

Correspondence from China and India indicated that news of the effort had reached those countries.

Meanwhile, things had been happening in the relations between our government and Peiping. When the FOR campaign began those relations were tense, and they worsened steadily for a while until fear was general that actual war might erupt in the Formosa Strait.

Then, surprisingly, they got better. President Eisenhower exhibited praiseworthy restraint in his comments on Quemoy and Matsu. The "China First" lobby began to lose influence; a conciliatory note became gradually evident.

Did the Fellowship's proposal to use Christian methods of dealing with "enemies" have any influence in the new development? Probably no one will ever know, for sure. One of those people who can only be identified as "informed sources" said it did, and that the extent of the influence was significant.

Many elements go into the making of decisions as momentous as those that led the nation back from the brink of war last spring, of course, and it would be foolish to suppose that so relatively small an effort as the Food-for-China campaign could have been even a major influence. What is not foolish to suppose is that the outpouring of support for such an approach of reconciliation and help might have encouraged a President to resist the pressure of hostile and fear-ridden associates. Nor is it foolish to rejoice in the fact that when it was possible to present an issue

in simple, Christian terms, there were thousands of Americans who responded, warmly and gladly. It may be that this is one of the Fellowship's primary responsibilities: to give the warm humanity in men an opportunity to manifest itself and so gradually to push back the tide of fear and hate that threatens to inundate us all.

Disarmament

Signs are that, as was suggested here last month, political and military leaders have been thrown off balance by the facts of life in an age of nuclear weapons, but this does not mean that the world is rushing pell-mell into disarmament and lasting peace. In fact this country, notwithstanding the well-publicized activities of "disarmament assistant" Harold Stassen, is more clearly committed to the "deterrent" idea, and against disarmament, than at any time since the end of the war.

That this is so was made clear in a recent speech by Secretary of the Air Force Donald A. Quarles, and in an article commenting on that speech by James Reston in the *New York Times*.[1]

Reston, who is probably as well-informed as anyone in Washington, interpreted Secretary Quarles' speech to the air attaches of the foreign missions in this country as warning that the United States "was going to rest its security not on the abolition of power but on the retention of overwhelming air-atomic power; not on 'disarmament' in the old-fashioned sense but on the capacity to retaliate; not on 'banning' or 'destroying' atomic bombs but on retaining them in such quantities that no nation could hope to start a major war without being destroyed by atomic and hydrogen retaliation; not on international monopolies of atomic power or 'foolproof' inspection systems but on mutual surveillance designed to prevent surprise attack by either side."

"Secretary Quarles," concluded Reston, "called it 'peace through effective deterrence.' Churchill, who is better and briefer at these things, called it 'a peace of mutual terror.' "

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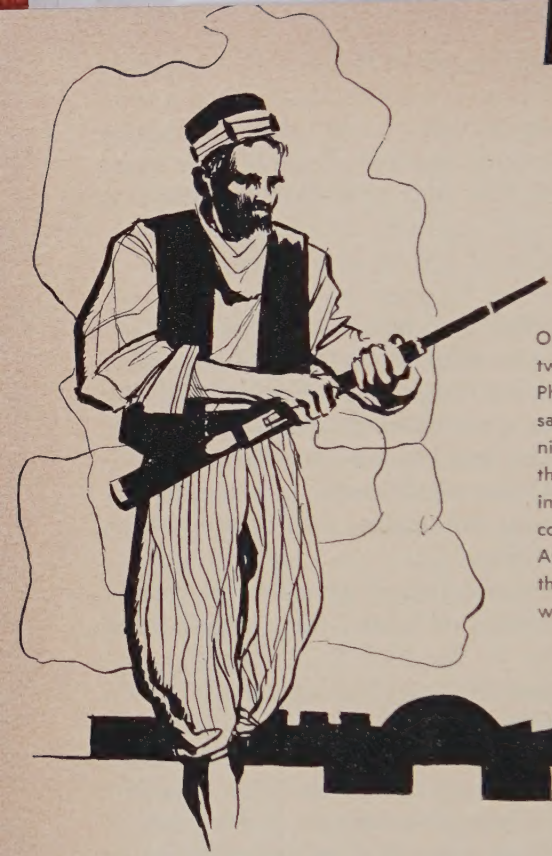
1 Sept. 6, 1955.

Letter from ALGIERS

by André Trocmé



On September 7, a French woman and her two small daughters were murdered near Philippeville, Algeria. The **New York Times** said the "crime was typical of the technique of terror adopted by outlaws infesting the mountains. . . ." It is with the present in mind—this witness of crumbling French control and violence throughout all North Africa that we turn to the background and the thoughts of André Trocmé in his letter written shortly before he left Algeria.

IN THE CITY of Algiers one forgets that he is not in France. One sees more churches than mosques. Luxurious cars are driven by Moslem owners whose wives go unveiled and unnoticed in the public.

Yet this city is a pathetic one. Morocco and Tunisia have kept a great deal of *couleur locale*, but Algiers, like Cairo, has only the dirt and rags, and the rags are occidental.

Many Algerians live halfway between Islam and the Occident. The French attempts to make French citizens out of them have produced a type of people who are not good Moslems because they are infected with the ideology of the French Revolution. On the other hand, they are not good democrats, because they lack the fundamental education which would lead them to grant equal treatment to all men, women and children.

Two Moslem universities keep Arabic culture alive in Morocco and Tunisia, but there are no Moslem universities in Algeria. Very few people write Arabic. In the cities, practically all North African children attend the French School, where, without segregation, they mingle with the French children.

Some students dream of escaping to France, to live there the French way. This desire is considered by Algerian nationalists as "collaboration" and "betrayal." It is interesting to note that although there is a nationalist awakening among the students, most nationalists are recruited from illiterates. For in North Africa, the nationalist revolt started in Aurés, in the southeast section of Algeria, where the most backward tribes live.

But for the lonely French farmer who owns 50 to 500 acres of land, fear is the rule. "Bandits" may attack him, massacre his wife and children, burn down his farmhouse. The police always arrive too late and the Moslem neighbors will not speak. If they do, they may be killed, too, by the "bandits."

Bandits Unseizable

These "bandits," or "fellaghas," are few—and therefore unseizable. They vanish as soon as the French police arrive. No native denounces them. Because they stand up for them, say the nationalists. Because the vengeance of the fellaghas is horrible, say the French, and the friends of the French. Probably both reasons are true.

Do the Algerians want independence? Yes. Do they want the French to leave? Certainly they want the French police to go, for the police mean terror and repression. But the fellaghas also mean terror and repression. This, then, is the deterioration of relationships between groups within the North African Arabic world since November, 1954, when violence became an element of discussion in Algeria. Before, there was no violence. Now, both the French and the Moslems are afraid.

Recently, when I spoke in a church assembly of Protestants belonging to a diaspora parish, I was told two stories.

A missionary's wife told me that a farm near the mission house in Azazga had been burned three days before. "They" did not kill the family; but the farmer, an honest, quiet fellow, whose grandfather had bought and tilled the land, was ruined. The natives did not excuse the crime. The night it happened, however, no native dared show his face. The farmer, left alone, could not resist. A few miles from the farm, the bandits destroyed the tractors, bulldozers and power plows that belonged to the native farmers' cooperative!

The second story was told by a forest ranger and his wife. Their companion and friend, a conservationist who tended the forests of Algeria, had been savagely killed by another group of "bandits." Nobody could explain the motive for such a crime. This man had very little to do with the Moslems, but his death leaves a 25-year old widow and two children.

No wonder the French are afraid that as soon as Algeria becomes independent, the Moslems will "throw them into the sea." Imagine a Midwest farmer seeing his farm destroyed because of a revolt of the Indians! The French fears are exaggerated, but fear is the passion which leads to violence. Some farmers have started building bunkers on their farms because the French authorities forbid them to carry arms. How long will the farmers endure their insecurity?

Fear necessarily leads to violence, I said. Fear had led the French police to use terror methods against Algerian nationalism long before the revolt of November,

1954. Because the French police, in most cases, do not speak Arabic or Berber, the language of the North Africans, they are often unable to obtain a "confession" from unwilling Algerians. But the police *must* know. So they beat the prisoner. In many cases, torture has been used. This causes fear on the Moslem side. Once they trusted the methods of French justice, but "today we are defenseless in the hands of the French. If they want a guilty man, they always find one. Under threat and torture, any man will denounce any other man." . . . "If this is democracy and justice, we cannot accept it. We had better go to the 'maquis' and answer any act of injustice by retaliation."

Mutual fear and hatred spread fast. I have direct knowledge of a case of injustice inflicted on a Moslem. This man was at peace with the French, and innocent of his "crime." Yet he was denounced, arrested, and sentenced to many years imprisonment. In prison, the best school for revolutionaries, he is with many nationalists. If, as I hope, his innocence is proven before the appeal court, how can I hope that this man will be anything but a nationalist?

What can we do? What can Christians do? What can the FOR do?

Recently, at another church assembly, I heard some of the men in the audience complain bitterly about the government's refusal to allow them to keep guns. Then I preached what I believe to be true. I told them that we need a new start, an act of faith of the Church, a readiness to be crucified and not to crucify others.

A French doctor who does pioneer work among villages in the mountains, a wealthy farmer, just elected as a deputy to the Algerian parliament, and a native Kabyle converted to Christianity, approached me after the meeting.

"Do you really mean nonviolence?" they asked.

"Yes, the power of divine love within us, and, as a corollary, renunciation of violence."

They seemed deeply impressed.

"Send me tens and tens of young doctors, nurses, who will go to the villages I know," said the doctor.

"I am a Christian, and a member of my nation. This is the way to approach our people, the way you describe," added the Kabyle.

Before I leave Algeria, I will have more talks with more people, both Christians and Moslems.

Every day, I give French lessons to five illiterates. Then I get a lesson in Arabic. Through my Arab teacher, I have been able to make a few Arab friends.

Next summer, ten French students will start their work. They will go, two by two, to bring a testimony to Jesus Christ in North Africa. They will not try to convert, but they will try to show the love of Christ, while teaching people to read and write. A group of five American Mennonites landed a week ago, and settled in Orleansville. They will develop a work camp project. This happened as a result of my talks with Guy Hershberger and John Yoder about North Africa.

As for me, I am glad I will soon be ready to offer young pacifists a concrete, although perhaps dangerous, way to serve the cause of peace. For I am convinced the FOR needs a *practical application of its pacifist theories*. We must build on *Militia Christi*, . . . "while we have the light, lest darkness come upon us."

What was our sin? It was your sin too, and that of all nations. The sin was to go to war. . . .

"We Will NOT Repeat Our Sins"

by Kiyoshi Tanimoto
as told to
Glenn D. Everett

TEN years ago, on August 6, 1945, the city of Hiroshima suffered the greatest single catastrophe in human history when an atom bomb exploded over the heart of our city and in one instant killed 100,000 persons and so severely injured 150,000 more that most of them died.

The suffering which we endured in Hiroshima is difficult to desribe to Americans. The bomb itself was over in one terrible, blinding flash of light and searing heat followed by the sledge-hammer blow of the explosion. The fires which it ignited burned for three days. By years of hard work, we have repaired a great part of the physical damage it caused. But the suffering among individuals has gone on and will

continue so long as any are alive who survived that terrible event.

I myself that morning had arisen early to help a neighbor, Mr. Matsuo, move some of his possessions to the suburbs. He had been helping me move some of the things from my church, the Nagaregawa United Church of Christ, and I was repaying the favor. We had been warned to expect a B-29 raid, for other cities in Japan were being attacked, and we knew Hiroshima's turn might come. An air raid alarm went off as we pushed a heavily laden handcart up the hill toward a suburban house whose owner was permitting friends to store possessions there, but we paid little attention to it and the all-clear soon sounded. Another reconnaissance flight, we thought. But as we rested in the garden before unloading our cart, a blinding flash, more brilliant than a hundred suns, ripped through the sky.

Instinctively, we dived. Two large rocks in the garden sheltered me from the terrible blast. I rose to my feet in the choking dust, dazed by the concussion, and saw that the house of our friend had collapsed. Running to the street, I found that all the houses along the street as far as I could see had also been smashed to kindling wood. I knew then that we had been hit by an incredibly big bomb.

As I reached the crest of the hill I saw smoke and fire over the whole city of Hiroshima. Then toward me up the hill came a most dreadful sight, the people of Hiroshima fleeing from the stricken city. They were terribly burned. Many were completely naked, all their clothes burned off. Their flesh hung in shreds, but they were suffering from shock, and did not yet feel their pain. Silently, looking neither to left nor right, they were running away. I thought at first I was seeing a procession of ghosts, it was so unreal.

I ran toward the city, consumed with fear for my wife and baby daughter, and the 150 families of our neighborhood association whom I had the responsibility of organizing for self-defense in event of emergency.

Hiroshima is a city situated on seven islands where the delta of the River Ota joins the Inland Sea. Though I ran from bridge to bridge trying to circle the fires, I could not. I nearly lost my life by drowning in trying to swim one of the rivers. I prayed desperately to God for strength, and, as I pulled myself exhausted upon the bank, God showed His hand to me when, midst the fire and wreckage, I ran directly into my wife, who was fleeing to the suburbs with our baby in her arms. Our meeting was brief

Kiyoshi Tanimoto, pastor of Nagaregawa United Church of Christ, Hiroshima, Japan, is a member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, as is Washington newspaperman Glenn Everett. Mr. Tanimoto is a survivor of the atomic attack on Hiroshima who became known in this country as a result of John Hersey's moving book, "Hiroshima." He has spent the ten years since that attack in reconstruction work in Hiroshima. He is currently in the United States with a group of Hiroshima girls scarred by the A-bomb, who are receiving medical help.

She told me our house was gone, that she had been trapped in the ruins for half an hour, and had managed to dig her way out with the baby just before the flames reached the wreckage. She ran on to the safety of the suburbs and I ran on into the burning city until I eventually reached Asano Park where I found some members of my parish and of my neighborhood association among the hundreds of terribly injured persons who reached that place of refuge.

Hundreds Die

The poor suffering people cried to me for water. When people suffer severe burns, it quickly depletes the body's fluids and they have great thirst. There was little that I could do except bring them water, and offer words of comfort and prayer. All during that first day and the next, hundreds of injured persons passed away. Even those who had not seemed badly hurt suddenly sickened and died. Yet there were some who, though desperately injured, managed to find strength to survive. One group of schoolgirls, so badly burned that they were left disfigured by scars, subsequently became a special subject of my care and attention.

A particular object of pity for us on that first day as we watched the city burn all about us were the little, lost children. Our little ones survived the attack in somewhat greater proportions than did adults. In part, this was because school had just taken up for the morning when the attack came, and many were in brick and steel buildings. Also, the children were smaller and could crawl out of ruins that trapped adults. These lost children in the park were separated from their families. That separation, all too often, was to prove a permanent one, for they were to find they had lost everything in life: mother, father, brothers, sisters, and home.

Pitifully these children cried for their mothers. How could we comfort them? My heart cries out even now when I think how terrible were those first hours for the hundreds of frightened, bewildered atom-bomb orphans.

In the separation of families that had occurred, many passed away far from their loved ones. One of my saddest duties was taking away from a 20-year girl, whom I had married to a young man of our congregation only a year before, the body of her baby daughter. She wanted her husband to see the infant girl once more because he loved her so much, but I knew that her husband, a soldier on the drill ground, had no chance to survive. If he lived at all, he was even then dying of his burns somewhere among the refugees. Many bitter personal tragedies occurred that cannot be told in the statistics.

As we look at the pictures taken shortly after the attack when Hiroshima lay in ashes, 56,000 of its 70,000 homes completely destroyed, and the rest damaged and uninhabitable, it seems impossible that the city could ever be rebuilt.

Yet life must go on, and despite our heartache over the loved ones we had lost, the homes and possessions which had all vanished in smoke, despite our hurts and injuries, we had to begin life again. The first five days after the bomb fell, I spent among the victims in Asano Park, doing what little I could to make the last moments easier for those who died, and to bring some message of hope to those who mourned.

Japanese authorities came into the city and began to collect the wounded into improvised shelters. Bodies of the dead were gathered up with hooks, like spoiled fish, and were cremated in piles of 20 or 30. We found we had 51,000 severely injured persons, and 106,000 lightly injured.

Many of the injured knew they would die, their hours of agony and suffering being in vain as were our efforts to help them. One man who had been very anti-Christian and a strong personal critic of my ministry sent word for me to come to him. I entered an underground bunker where he had found shelter. His burns were festering and the odor was overpowering. He knew he was dying and asked me to pray for him. As we prayed together, he accepted Christ, and closing his eyes for the last time, committed his spirit to God. There were many such moving spiritual experiences.

Familiar Landmarks Gone

It was with heavy heart that I made my way through the ashes to where my church had stood. I could scarcely find my way for all familiar landmarks were gone. It was only by counting street intersections that I could find the spot where four bleak walls stood with sunlight streaming in where the roof and windows had been.

Even the tree that stood in the churchyard was black and dead. Later, we cut it down and made from its wood little crosses which we gave to those who helped us rebuild the church. Thus did the Christian symbol of Resurrection come from the ruins of the bomb.

Three weeks after the bomb fell, I became very ill from radiation sickness. I was in bed with a fever of 104 degrees and feeling that I surely was near death when a member of my parish who had been hunting for me came to my bedside and said, "Oh, pastor, we have had a terrible judgment upon us! Because we Christians did not stand firm for our faith, God has brought this day upon us." He begged me to rebuild the church and to bring new faith to the survivors of Hiroshima. Departing, he pressed a 10-yen note into my hand to start the rebuilding fund, a touching gift, since it meant that he would have to go without food. It was at this moment that it seemed to me that God had a duty for me to perform, and I immediately felt stronger and confident of recovery, although it was two months before I could get up out of my bed.

When I arose and resumed my work of ministry, I found little with which to work. When I came to Hiroshima in 1943, our church had 600 members. Wartime evacuation and membership losses cut this number to about 200 when the bomb hit. Now searching among the survivors I could find but 23 members. We know for certain that 58 of our members were killed. Others had fled from the ruined city, and still others were missing.

I found shelter for my family and myself in a ruined house which one of our church members had given up as unrepairable. With my own labor and that of friends I eventually got a roof of sorts over four rooms of this house, and there we and three other families found shelter for the winter. This ruined house also became our meeting place for worship. Then in spring the members insisted that we should go back to the church. On Sunday mornings we sat in the

After the Bomb—the Nagaregawa Church stands alone amdist the rubble.

ashes on pieces of broken roof tile or other debris. We had no floor, no roof, and no pulpit. When it rained, we had to huddle together under the remains of the balcony. But we had very moving spiritual prayers.

At this same time with other ministers I went out on the streets to preach. Hiroshima had been a considerable center of Christianity before the war. We had 21 Protestant churches, all of which were destroyed. Two of our ministers were imprisoned during the war for "pro-Americanism," another four had gone to the country. Three died in the atom attack and five survived beside myself. We went to the place near the railroad station where little marked stalls had been set up to sell the goods brought in by farmers. There we preached the Christian gospel. We received a wonderful reception. Usually a crowd of 100 or 200 would gather. Though the preaching went on for an hour, they stood there and did not move away. We made many conversions, for the people were hungry to hear of a faith which emphasized peace and brotherhood. The gospel of Christian love found great response in Hiroshima.

In April, 1946, John Hersey, an American writer, came to Hiroshima. He interviewed me about my experiences on the day the bomb fell and wrote about me, as he did about my friend, Father Kleinsorge, of the Catholic mission, and others who had experienced the attack at first hand. A magazine, *The New Yorker,* carried Mr. Hersey's full account and it was published as a book in America and became a best-seller. Now all my old seminary classmates from Candler School of Theology at Emory University, where I was a member of the class of 1940, heard for the first time where I was and

of my misfortune. Their churches began sending gifts to our church.

Soon, I was invited to come to America. The response of Americans was wonderful to behold. It was soon quite apparent that no longer did Americans look upon Japan as an enemy country. Instead, they were eager, as were we in Japan, to have our two countries become friends. When I returned to Japan, I had some gifts with which to start the rebuilding of the church, and there was some money our own people had raised in Hiroshima. It was a long, hard search for building materials, but an American Army chaplain took an interest in our work and was of much help to us. I can remember one time having to go twenty different places just to get some nails of the right size!

Visit by Cousins

In 1948, Norman Cousins, an American magazine editor, visited Hiroshima and was particularly concerned with the plight of the orphan children. By this time they had been gathered together into five municipal orphanages, but while their physical wants were being cared for, there was great loneliness among them. They had no one to love them or to care about them. Mr. Cousins launched an appeal to Americans for "moral adoption" of these orphans. For $2.50 a month[1] American parents or church groups could "adopt" a Japanese A-bomb orphan, support the child's education, and write to that orphan boy or girl as they would their own son or daughter. The "moral adoption" program had great success and it has meant much in restoring confidence and happiness to these young people to know that there are those in America who want war no more and who want to help them as a practical demonstration of good will.

Although our older orphans are now graduating from our program, our need in the next five years will be the heaviest because we want to give them a technical school education and this is expensive, even though the government contributes two-thirds of the cost of higher education as a subsidy.

Another group whose welfare has particularly concerned us has been the young maidens, most of whom were girls in the first or second grade of school ten years ago, who suffered terrible burns. They were badly disfigured by scars and need plastic surgery if they are ever to hope to make a normal life for themselves. For five years I have worked to find help for these girls. At Tokyo and Osaka we got some help, but those cities also had many persons who were burned in the fire raids, and they said, "This is just a publicity stunt for Hiroshima." So we had to persist and pray long and hard. On May 9 of this year, through the help of the U.S. Air Force, doctors at Mount Sinai Hospital in New York, and American friends recruited by Mr. Norman Cousins, we were able to bring a group of 25 of these girls to the United States where they are now receiving free medical treatment. It will mean a new life for these girls and we hope to bring similar aid to more than one hundred others who need it.

This is my third visit to America since the war. In 1950-51 I was here on behalf of the Hiroshima Peace Center Foundation which we established to carry on labors of Christian good will among Hiro-

[1] Now $4.25 a month.

shima survivors. Each time I have found Americans very eager to learn of Hiroshima and to express their good will to those who had the misfortune to suffer the atomic attack. Whether it was in the United States Senate where I had the honor to serve as guest chaplain, or in some small crossroads church, I met with the same expressions of friendship.

In Hiroshima we have had a memorial service for our loved ones each August 6 since the bomb fell. An American bomber has come over during the service and dropped flowers as a tribute to the dead. Somehow this has seemed to me more than just an idle gesture. It is a symbol of the real reconciliation that has taken place, and of our mutual determination not to let such a thing happen again.

Recently, on an American television program the pilot of the bombing plane which carried the atom weapon appeared and shook hands with me. He did not want to kill people, but it was a war. The common man in the world does not like war and does not want to fight with anyone. It is so in Japan, Russia, the United States, everywhere.

That is why we in Japan were terribly shaken by the death of Oshichi Karboyama, the humble fisherman on the "Fortunate Dragon" which was so unfortunate as to get within 70 miles of an American hydrogen bomb test last year and be covered by radioactive fallout. His death brought home to us that despite expressions of hope for peace throughout the world, mankind has not yet given up war, but is testing weapons 1,000 times more deadly than the Hiroshima A-bomb. Suddenly we realized the lesson of Hiroshima may be lost.

We have erected a cenotaph in the center of Hiroshima directly under the place were the bomb exploded, a monument in which we have enshrined scrolls bearing the names of all our known dead. Over it we have inscribed this message: "Rest in peace; for we will not repeat our sin."

What was our sin? It was your sin too, and that of all nations. The sin was to go to war.

"It will mean a new life to these girls and we hope to bring similar aid to more than 100 others who need it."

...Dear Mr. President

An Open Letter to the President of the United States

from Lawrence Scott

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

I was standing on the corner the other day passing out leaflets as a remedy for the headaches of the world. A fellow came up to me and in a rather irate manner says, "You must be one of those followers of Marx."

"No, I don't care too much for his show," I says. "I useta see all four of them in movies, but I liked best the silent brother which played the harp. I wonder what ever became of him."

Well, this fellow was pretty agitated. He says, "No, I mean that Communist Marx." Naturally I looked around to see if there were any ladies in hearing distance and says to him pretty stern, "You done said a nasty word. Better watch your language." You see, he wasn't talking in no whisper.

"Oh, trying to play innocent," he says. "The government ought to send all you C——s back to Russia."

I was a little worried about his continuing use of that nasty word in public, but knowing how hard it has been for anybody to get into Russia these last few years, I just figured he must be a little off his rocker and decided to humor him along. So I says, "I might like to take a little trip to Russia. What's this about the government paying the expenses?" This upset him so that I thought I might need all my nonviolent techniques and fuss around a little with jiu-jitsu. He exploded, "You d—— C——s ought to be hung!"

Well, Mr. President, that's quite a let-down from an all-expense tour abroad to a hangman's noose. So I knew I must have said the wrong thing. Just humoring him along wasn't getting us anywhere. I decided to go against all the rules laid down in the recent book, *How To Deal With a McCarthyite*, and try to appeal to his reason. Seeing there were no ladies passing I says, "What kind of C——s are you talking about? There are Leninists, Trotskyites, Stalinists, Titoists, Malenkovites, Kruschevites, and various other shades of deviationists. Of

do you refer to that different kind practiced by the early Christians as described in the Book of Acts?" I could tell he was a little puzzled by the last reference. In fact, before he finally quit hounding me I was convinced that he had only heard indirectly of the Marx kind —a merely theoretical statement by a fellow who's been dead quite a while, and whose theories were never put into practice so far as my knowledge goes.

Here I was standing on the corner with this sick man about to explode all over me. Should I take a chance on him misunderstanding my action by reaching in my pocket for my research notebook of useful information? I pointed across the street and while he looked away I quickly pulled out my notebook.

There was the information I needed right under "M":

"Karl Marx—penetrating analysis of evils of laissez-faire capitalism. Many of his predictions canceled out by effect of political democracy which Marx didn't seem to know much about or foresee. Missed the boat on two main points—nature of man and nature of universe. Thought capitalists unchangeably bad, and proletariat unchangeably good. Thought religion an opiate and God a myth. Too bad he couldn't have met Jesus, St. Francis, George Fox, or Gandhi. Good nobody has tried to make his theories work with him missing the boat so badly."

Well, Mr. President, by this time he was looking over my shoulder and I guess it was about the most extensive research he'd ever done on C——s and Marx. By this time he had cooled off and I didn't want to start any argument with him. So I didn't tell him about how I figured the private profit system where some men beat other men over the head with surplus capital and economic power is an evil thing. Nor did I tell him about how the problem of social sharing is very complicated by the problem of democratic control. He had been gorged with research by just looking over my shoulder at my research notebook and I saw him go into the tavern about half-way down the block.

Mr. President, this is a kind of a long story to tire you with just to ask a simple question. What is this government travel fund which I've been hearing about when all these fellows say, "The government ought to send you C——s back to Russia"? I ain't been out of the U.S. except one little jaunt across Ontario. Do you have to have come from Russia to be eligible for the travel fund?

Take care of your health. You've got some hard days ahead.

Your friend,

LAWRENCE SCOTT

The Author

Lawrence Scott is Peace Education Director for the Chicago regional office of the American Friends Service Committee. An FOR member for many years, his "open letters" will appear in **Fellowship** from time to time.

ANTIDOTE TO FEAR

The Arizona Story

by Mahlon R. Hagerty, Jr.

WHEN future United States historians record the happenings of what they might aptly term "the fearful fifties," it is within the realm of possibility that one paragraph might read something like this: "Nurtured by a hard core of political opportunists and an irresponsible segment of the press, a tidal wave of hysteria swept the nation, seriously curtailing civil rights and in general crippling democratic processes. The flood rolled up to the borders of the sovereign state of Arizona—and no farther."

The chances are that is all history will mention about the Baby State's role in checking the creeping fear that threatened to paralyze the "home of the brave." A bit more detail might be appropriate at this time so that Arizona's courageous action might give courage to other areas to work actively in halting fear tactics on the state level.

This piece involves two specific bits of legislation—a particularly vicious loyalty oath that failed to pass the Arizona House of Representatives and a resolution of dedication that did. Behind both of these measures was a small, loosely knit band of liberals whose sole stake in the matter was an earnest concern over the unhealthy national trend toward political orthodoxy based on fear.

A glance at the makeup of this "Committee of Correspondence" is a heartening reminder that the desire to keep America from degenerating into a bastion state transcends any theological, doctrinal or vocational barriers. Religious-wise, the group included Methodists, Presbyterians, Mormons, Jews, Unitarians, Episcopalians, Brethren and Quakers; from an occupa-

tional standpoint, teachers, preachers, and lawyers predominated.

Chain Reaction Began

This unofficial committee came into being in Phoenix in the spring of 1954, when information leaked out that the House suffrage and elections committee was about to report out a three-pronged loyalty oath affecting all Arizona public employees, but aimed primarily at teachers. The Paul Revere in the case was Rep. Sidney Kartus, a mild-mannered, dedicated legislator whose constituency lay on the wrong side of the tracks in Phoenix.

Once the word was out, there began a spontaneous chain reaction which culminated in enough protests to induce the suffrage and elections committee chairman, Rep. Robert Myers, to call a hearing. Meanwhile, FOR member Rev. Frank Durand, hit the Phoenix press with a streamer headline, "Arizona Clergy Opposes Loyalty Oath." As executive secretary of the Arizona Council of Churches, Mr. Durand had polled members of the Council's social action committee and found them unalterably against the oath.

At the same time, a group of teachers, members of the American Federation of Teachers, Local 1010, met at a Phoenix high school where Kartus, plus a fellow legislator, William Younger Wood, addressed them.

In his remarks, Kartus commented: "What we have here is legislation of conformity. That means the end of freedom and dissent. There may be a great cost to you personally in fighting such a bill. It is a cost reckoned in terms of renewal of your contract, payments on your house. . . . But unless you take a stand, without counting the cost to yourself, this bill will pass. Then you will feel a greater loss than anything you fear now."

Teachers Take Stand

The teachers decided to take the stand. Kartus said later, "The fight was won at that meeting."

The time set for the hearing on House Bill 45—as the loyalty oath was called—was on a weekday morning. This made it necessary for teachers planning to present statements to be absent from two or three classes—at their own expense.

Twenty persons appeared to testify against the bill. One witness—a Phoenix businessman—favored it. The opposition consisted almost entirely of teachers and preachers, but included a C.I.O. official and a salesman.

The dearth of favorable witnesses naturally raises the question of who was backing the bill that the majority bloc was anxious to pass. That query never was answered. Although the sponsor of the bill, Rep. Max Connolly, was known to be prominent in state American Legion affairs, no veterans group publicly endorsed it.

The suffrage and elections committee listened politely to all objections to the bill, and then proceeded to report it out for passage. The hearing also had the effect of evoking a spirited press and public reaction. The *Phoenix Gazette* ran a red, white and blue editorial, demanding to know why in Heaven's good name any moral and upstanding American would object to pledging loyalty to his country in these perilous times. Letters to the editor were about equally divided.

Some suggested ominously that people fighting the oath needed to be investigated.

The folks opposing the oath made ready to man the next line of defense—the floor of the House. Four of the teachers (three members of FOR) actively lobbied against the bill each day after school. They also supplied the legislative leaders in the struggle against the oath with voluminous amounts of materials to be used in debate. In addition, they presented the case against H.R. 45 to key senators—just in case it passed the House. As further insurance, they met personally with individuals known to have influence with Governor Howard Pyle, asking them to use their good offices to have the Chief Executive veto the bill if it reached his desk.

Bill Debated

Finally the bill came up for debate. It started at mid-morning and continued all day. Certain that it would carry by a huge margin if it came to a vote, the strategy was to try, if possible, to prevent this contingency.

Bill Wood, the brilliant young attorney from Glendale, led the attack on H.R. 45. Sidney Kartus acted as a sort of unofficial floor manager. There were some half dozen lawmakers, out of a total of 80, fighting the bill. They resorted to every delaying tactic in the book—plus a few that weren't. It wasn't exactly a filibuster but it was a reasonable facsimile.

One bit of strategy which, as it turned out, they didn't need, was a stack of amendments to introduce. They were all of a ridiculous nature. One required applicants for motor vehicle licenses to sign loyalty oaths in return for which they would receive "purification numbers" to be attached to their license plates.

As the day wore on, the majority leaders grew restive and nervous. They'd heard about the satirical amendments and didn't relish a debate on such nonsense.

Show Called Off

And so the word went out to call the show off the road. It was then that Rep. Robert Morrow arose and moved H.B. 45 be retained on calendar. In the chorus of "Ayes" that greeted the motion, there was a perceptible note of relief. All that remained for Wood, Kartus and Co., was to keep the bill from coming back—and they did.

The recipe, then, for defeating fear legislation would seem to be: take a small number of lawmakers dedicated to democratic principles, add a dash of informed citizens willing to give unselfishly of their time (they won't have money) to expose demagoguery wherever they find it, and the result is a concoction that means more to preserving America than any mixture of atoms thus far put together.

Sequel to the story is the introduction this year of House Resolution 14 by 42 of the 80 members of the lower chamber and passed without a murmur as the final action of the Twenty-First legislature.

Operating on the football maxim that the best defense is a good offense, the same band of liberals that "plotted" the demise of the loyalty oath, met and drew up a libertarian pronouncement aptly named, "A Resolution of Dedication" to American democracy. The draft was largely the work of two

men—the indefatiable Mr. Kartus and Grant Fraser, a high school teacher and clerk of the Phoenix Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends.

The resolution states:

1. Whereas, a study of nations past and present shows that as distrust and suspicion increase freedom diminishes in the lives of men; and

2. Whereas, disorder has occurred in those times and places and in greatest severity where freedoms such as are enjoyed in this country are denied; and

3. Whereas, in our nation disorder has never stemmed from our liberties; and

4. Whereas, whenever freedom of thought is disallowed there is ushered in control of man by suspicion; and

5. Whereas, if suspicion is rife, normal conditions cannot exist, and it can be dispelled only by good will in the hearts of men; and

6. Whereas, where these principles are revered and practiced, democracy flourishes, and where they die or lie unused, democracy withers; and

7. Whereas, where freedom abounds, men will repel the appalling possibilities of human conflict:

Now Therefore be it resolved by the House of Representatives of the State of Arizona:

That it is the sense of this legislature that in this time for greatness we repudiate the fear, suspicion, and distrust which could rob us of our greatness:

That the climate of obsession worries our friends abroad and elates the enemies of freedom who would watch us destroy our heritage:

That we rededicate ourselves to the basic principles of a functioning and vital democracy, faith in each other and the people of Arizona, respect for the uniqueness and worth and dignity of each individual, devotion to the ideals of free inquiry and free speech;

That this faith, this hope, this love, is the foundation of American democracy on which we as legislators aspire to build."

It should be noted here that the present Arizona legislature is in itself a departure from the norm of its predecessors. The new House has a distinctly refreshing liberal flavor, as evidenced by the seating of quite a few teacher and labor-backed lawmakers. For the first time, the big cattle, copper, cotton interests, et. al, did not have everything their own way.

Advocates of a loyalty oath like to say it is good because it forces people to stand up and be counted. Perhaps it is more true to say that when people stand up and are counted, loyalty oaths can be defeated and positive legislation can become a reality.

Changing Your Address?

If so, it would help us, and save you delays, to have the new address a month in advance. Thanks.

Michigan FOR Holds Peace Fair

At Milan, Michigan, July 26 to July 30, scores of curious spectators streamed into a tent at the county fair grounds labeled "The World Tomorrow" and saw a new kind of exhibit. It was the "Milan Fair" sponsored by the Michigan FOR and the accent was on peace.

The visitor was confronted everywhere with the question of his responsibility in a nuclear age. The main exhibit was set up in such a way that the visitor had the illusion he was in a space ship, where he could look down at two worlds. One panel showed in succession a battle, a ruined city, and a world on fire. The other pointed out a different picture—men in negotiation, a city at peace.

The motion picture, "Tale of Two Cities," the U.S. army release on the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, was shown along with "The Toymaker," the classic film about "Spots" and "Stripes", two warring puppets who are reconciled when they learn they are both creations of the Toymaker.

R. F. Burlingame of the Michigan FOR noted that: cost was kept within a $250 budget; movies were the most effective medium for young children and adults; *A Sane Man's Guide to Civil Defense* and *How Would You Look In A Concrete Pipe* received good notice.

FOR members from Jackson, Ann Arbor, South Lyon, Manchester, Clayton, and Milan participated in the fair.

National FOR Meeting Draws Three Hundred

More than 300 American pacifists attended the 1955 annual conference of the FOR over the Labor Day weekend at Camp Alexander Mack, Milford, Indiana. About a hundred were present at the "family camp" held for the four days preceding the conference.

Speakers were Donovan E. Smucker, professor of Christian Ethics at the Mennonite and Bethany seminaries in Chicago; Harold Ehrensberger, Director of the Foreign Student Program at Boston University; John M. Swomley, Jr., national secretary; Alfred Hassler, editor of FELLOWSHIP; and Paul Sekiya, executive secretary of the Japanese FOR. Glenn Smiley, FOR national field secretary, acted as dean of the conference.

Other program features included extended discussion groups directed by Dan West on issues confronting holders of the pacifist position, and a showing of "Children of the A-Bomb."

High point of the conference was the organization of a new Youth Section of the Fellowship by undergraduate delegates. College representatives emphasized the receptiveness of college young people to discussion of the pacifist position.

Michigan Project Bids Youth "Buy" Militarism

The preparation of American youth for a military way of life through the launching of various "pilot projects" has become a primary target for a group of Michigan educators.

Carl Horn of Michigan State College, a leading spokesman of the movement, describes a pilot project as a "program of continuing cooperation between the Department of Defense, Military Services, Selective Service, and the schools."

Nicholas Schrieber, former President of the Michigan Secondary Schools Association says that "in no respect is the program one of indoctrination or preparation for activities in the military service."

A careful check on the project first underway during the 1954-55 school year reveals, however, that the program: gave a superficial analysis of world tensions; was completely uncritical of life in the U.S. armed forces; gave no provision for another point of view; did not even explain the CO provisions in the Selective Service law. Specifically:

Although the Ann Arbor FOR was granted permission to visit two sessions at Ann Arbor high school to explain the position of the conscientious objector, the basic program revolved around textbooks and various materials developed by the Department of Defense which were provided free for use in the high school curriculum.

A 10-week unit entitled "Youth and the Draft" was included in the tenth grade classes. Eleventh grade American history class students considered such questions as "Why do we need Armed Forces?" and "Why should I be willing to serve?". Supplementing this was a series of eight sessions on the "Reserve program" given in physical education courses. Twelfth grade students attended 16 meetings on youth and the military. "Next fall," said the 1954-55 Ann Arbor prospectus, "we plan to spend much of our time on the choices of military service available, vocational and educational opportunities in the military services, services available to men in the Armed Forces, and post-service opportunities."

The standard textbook used at Ann Arbor and in various schools throughout the state is "The Armed Forces and Your Life Plans." Calling youth's attention to the fact that "Military service or some other contribution to the nation's defense must be fitted into your life's plans," it emphasizes "constructive attitudes about getting ready for that period."

Army Guards Peace

Declaring that "the ideal of international cooperation must be guarded by military power of individual nations like ours," it says that a boy or girl goes into the Army "to guard the progress being made toward peace and justice for the world . . . a purpose as great and magnificent as man can conceive."

The textbook continues: "In Communist countries opportunities are not provided for high school and college training at public expense except as individuals are chosen for such privileges to serve the purposes of the state. . . . The right to play football, to fish, to swim, or to plan a family vacation, if and when you please, all these are phases of 'living' found only in free countries . . . many of the harmless people of

the earth have been trampled under the steel of military dictatorship and others will be trampled unless an adequate defense is maintained."

Recent developments indicate that the program has gained momentum since its initiation. Recently 41 Michigan high school teachers and principals took a guided tour of U.S. Army, Navy, and Air Force installations in three Air Force planes. The Flint, Michigan *Journal* reported that everywhere they went they "heard pleas for help in preparing youths for the transition to military life."

The North Central Association of Secondary Schools and Colleges is circulating materials developed by the Department of Defense in eleven pilot high schools in the N.C.A. region. At Ithaca, Michigan, school officials supplemented "Youth and the Draft" with "all available materials we could get from the services plus our own resource people." And according to Lansing (Michigan) Eastern high school, "Army reserve personnel . . . have made use of our general information booth in the central foyer to answer questions during the noon hour. This practice may be expanded."

IFOR Contemplates Visit to Russia

The possibility of a "reconciliation mission" to the Soviet Union was among the subjects discussed at the general conference of the IFOR held August 21 to 27 at Vaumarcus, Switzerland. The conference was attended by 201 persons from 21 countries, including 19 Americans.

The decision on the Russian trip was referred to a committee of six with power to act. A. J. Muste, secretary emeritus of the American FOR, is the United States representative on the committee.

Among the luminaries who spoke at the conference were Martin Niemöller and F. Siegmund-Schultze of Germany, André Trocmé and Henri Roser of France, Hannes de Graaf of Holland, Garth Macgregor of Scotland, Charles E. Raven of England, and Culbert Rutenber of the United States.

The conference marked the formal acceptance of the post of IFOR secretary by Ernest Best, formerly an American missionary to Japan, and the retirement from the post of IFOR chairman of John Nevin Sayre. Ernest Best will succeed Percy Bartlett of England in the post of secretary. Garth Macgregor, Scottish theologian and author of *The New Testament Basis of Pacifism*, became the new chairman.

Press, Scholars, Laud Quaker Publication

Speak Truth to Power is winning more than honorable mention from leading American scholars. Gordon Allport, eminent psychologist, wrote in the May 28 *New York Herald Tribune* that it was "the soundest psychological analysis I have seen of our present international predicament and of the spiraling futility of our foreign policy."

Reviewed in the August 17 issue of *Manas*, the booklet is referred to as "the broadest compendium of war-resister philosophy yet produced." . . . Other endorsers include Robert M. Hutchins, Lewis Mumford, Hans Morgenthau, Erich Fromm, and Norbert Wiener.

California Church Wins Fight Against Oath

A round was won for civil liberties August 25 when Alameda Superior Court Judge James R. Agee held unconstitional a state requirement that churches sign loyalty oaths to qualify for tax exemption.

Agee upheld the First Methodist Church of San Leandro's refusal to sign the loyalty declaration. The oath violates freedom of speech, he contended.

Reverend Robert W. Moon, FOR member and pastor of the church said, "This is the decision we hoped for. It is the responsibility of the church and of concerned citizens to protect our Constitution and our democratic principles. I am proud of the persistent courage shown by the members of our church." The San Leandro congregation opposed the requirement immediately upon its enactment in 1953 and carried the fight to the State Supreme Court. In June, 1954, the court told the church to pay the tax under protest and attack the ruling.

County Assessor Russell T. Horstmann must return $718.30 in taxes paid under protest by the church. Under law, Horstmann refused the church's claim for exemption when the congregation struck out the language pledging no subversive affiliation.

The Jewish Theological Seminary of America has established an Institute for Ethical Studies in the Atomic Age.

Lewis L. Strauss, chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission and an officer of the seminary, explained that "the atomic age needs an ethical renaissance." Asserting that science "has given us the means for self-destruction or for the creation of a new world," Strauss maintained that "only ethical thinking can give us the rationale for using our new strength."

The institute which was started in September will confer fellowships on exceptional students of ethics, theology and philosophy who will devote all their time to these pursuits.

Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, pastor of New York's huge Abyssinian Baptist Church, joins leaders of women's societies of the church in examining FOR Food-for-China petition. Abyssinian members added more than 400 names to petition.

The Rev. Phillips P. Elliott, vice-chairman of the American committee of the International FOR (left) greets the IFOR's new secretary, Ernest Best, at a welcoming luncheon in New York in June. The Rev. John Nevin Sayre, IFOR chairman, is at right.

Open Letter to Hiroshima Sent by New York FOR

"Many of us in America feel deep down in our hearts that unless we repent fully for the crime of Hiroshima, we shall all likewise perish." Thus emphasized an open letter to the people of Hiroshima adopted August 6 at a public meeting sponsored by the New York FOR following a showing of "Children of the A Bomb."

Signed "Your friends in America," the letter noted that in an anniversary editorial, *The New York Times* said: "Now surely there are signs that even where there is utter tyranny and cynicism absolute, even there, those who might say the word, shrink from atomic war. . . . In these decisive days it could be the function of this generation to set pealing the bells in all the steeples of the world with the news that war has been forever abolished."

The letter continued; "We seek to realize once and for all that no people has a moral might to drop H-bombs on another people at any time or for any reason and to let this realization become the basis of national policy."

An identical letter was addressed to the people of Nagasaki.

FOR Group Announces Findings on Peace Poll

When the New England FOR announced its findings in September on a door-to-door "peace poll" launched July through August, they came up with some interesting statistics:

Of 87 Cambridge families interviewed by FOR volunteers, over 50 per cent were unfamiliar with the nonviolent alternative to war. An even greater majority felt that U.S. militarism contributed to peace. Other findings indicated that a majority of the families believed: A and H bombs would be used in a world war; the Summit conference was a plus mark for peace; U.S. and Russian differences could be settled peaceably. According to field secretary Glenn Smiley, the pollsters were not only interested in opinions of the families, but talked to them extensively about peace and possible solutions to the cold war. Said Glenn; "All who participated felt that this was a workable project for small groups in any city."

Outlaw War, Urge Indian Groups

At a public meeting convened at Kottayam, India on the anniversary of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima, the secretaries of the Indian FOR, the Kerala Peace Council, and the Kerala Student Christian Movement unanimously called on the United Nations and the world to outlaw war as an instrument of settling international disputes.

They also urged a ban on the production and testing of all atomic weapons. Rev. Juhanon Mar Thoma, President of the World Council of Churches, was chairman.

Devere Allen Is Dead at 65

Devere Allen, internationally known editor, FOR member, author, former leader in the Socialist movement, died August 28 at Westerley, R. I., Hospital after an emergency operation. He was 65.

Devere Allen was director and editor of *Worldover Press*, the unique international news service which has given uncensored coverage of world affairs since 1933. A staunch pacifist and member of the FOR since 1916, he was editor of *The World Tomorrow*, a magazine with a pacifist orientation which played a significant role against war and militarism in the United States after World War I. He also wrote several books, among them "The Fight For Peace." At one time he was the only American member of the World Council of the War Resisters International.

A former associate editor of *The Nation*, he was the 1936 Socialist candidate for Governor of Connecticut. He was the party's candidate for United States Senator from Connecticut in 1932 and 1934.

A correspondent for several years for The North American Newspaper Alliance and a member of the Overseas Press Club, Devere Allen also served as an official of many organizations including: the League for Industrial Democracy, the League Against German Facism. A well-known lecturer, he was a member of the summer school staff of the Williamstown Institute of Politics. He belonged to the Authors League, the American Academy of Political and Social Science, and Phi Beta Kappa.

Nobel Scientists Call For Renunciation of War

Following closely on the heels of the Einstein-Russell statement came the report that on July 15, eighteen Nobel Prize-winning scientists declared in Bonn, Germany, that countries must renounce force or perish. The declaration read, in part:

"The full employment of weapons feasible today can infect the earth with radioactivity to such an extent that whole peoples can be annihilated. Neutrals can encounter death as well as the war-waging parties. All nations must come to a decision to renounce force as a final resort to policy. They will cease to exist unless they are ready to do this." Signers were Arthur H. Compton, Otto Hahn, Werner Heisenberg, Fritz Lippmann, H. J. Muller, W. M. Stanley, Kurt Alder, Max Born, Gerhard Domagk, Hans von Euler, Goerg von Hevesy, Richard Kuhn, Paul Mueller, L. Ruzicka, Frederick Soddy, Hermann Standing, Hideki Yukawa, Adolf Butenandt.

Vets Warn Jehovah's Witnesses

Burlington, Vermont, veterans' groups served notice to Mayor J. Edward Moran that they won't tolerate use by Jehovah's Witnesses of Burlington Memorial Auditorium for a regional meeting this month.

According to Moran, phone calls from different veterans' organizations threatened to override a decision by Burlington's aldermen if necessary.

"I was told that if the aldermen give permission . . . the veterans' organizations will have 800 men at the building to prevent the sect members from entering." The mayor added that he agreed with the vets.

Civil Resisters Shot At Goa

Two unarmed volunteers who marched against the Portuguese colony of Goa, India, were shot to death August 3 by Portuguese soldiers.

Dead are Babu Keshav Thorat and Nityananda Saha, two members of the 12th group of "Satyagrahis" to cross into Goa since the passive freedom movement began. Several others, including the leader, Mahitosh Nandi, received bullet wounds.

According to *Indiagram*, the official bulletin issued by the Indian Embassy the group was stopped at Patradevi, near the Banda border, by Portuguese soldiers who asked them to stop carrying flags and posters, and marching ahead. They opened fire with Sten-guns when the volunteers refused to obey the order.

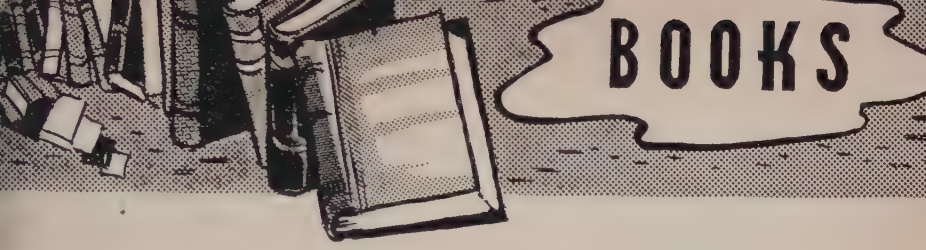
Following the shooting, another group of 33 volunteers entered Goa near the Majali border on August 5. They were pushed back by police within eight hours of their crossing. Meanwhile anti-Portuguese demonstrations increased throughout India and the August 5 India *Statesman* warned that Portugal's reaction "seems merely in the direction of senseless and reckless violence which often in the long run (and sometimes even in the short run) only breeds violence."

Halt A-Bomb Tests Methodist Youth Urge

An immediate halt to the making and testing of nuclear weapons was urged by the National Conference of Methodist Youth in a telegram sent to President Eisenhower from its annual meeting held August 24 at Lafayette, Indiana.

"The Christian gospel of love, brotherhood and the worth of the individual demand that we oppose methods of mass destruction of human life. . . . We call upon the president and the chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission to do all within their power for the immediate cessation of all preparation and testing of nuclear weapons by the United States and to further negotiate to stop (such activities among all nations . . .") the telegram stated.

Calling it the obligation of "every Christian to oppose the way of war," delegates passed a resolution saying Christianity and war are "incompatible." Other resolutions asked Congress to repeal the recently enacted military service bill and denounced compulsory ROTC.



A Trio of Conscience

Till Human Voices Wake Us, by Ian Hamilton. Published by Hamilton, Auckland, N. Z., 1953. 233 pp. 21 shillings.

The New Men, by C. P. Snow. New York, Scribner's, 1955. 311 pp. $3.50.

India's Walking Saint, by Hallam Tennyson. Garden City, N. Y., Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1955. 244 pp. $3.50.

Difficult to name three books more different in mood, as in matter, than the three listed above. Yet one link ties them together. Each in its way stands as a study in conscience.

Closest to FOR experience, because of our C. O. records from both World Wars—the latest, FELLOWSHIP's editor's fine *Diary of a Self-Made Convict*—is Ian Hamilton's account of sixteen months non-cooperation in New Zealand's lock-ups, Detention, Bad Boys Camp, and prisons. The particular outrage against which he and other C. O.'s were protesting—in all he spent 90 days in solitary, hunger-striking for 19—was the indeterminate sentence. But his furious attack goes beyond even war and conscription. Its object is "naked power" itself, the right of any man or group to exercise absolute control, political, economic, or military, over one of their fellows.

Disgusted by South Africa's color-bar, this "renegade Englishman" in 1929 came to New Zealand, famed home of "Progressive Social Legislation," to be profoundly shocked by the spoliation of a once beautiful land and the debasement of its Maoris by the much-lauded British "Pioneers" of the last century. Hamilton worked on a back-block sheep station, farmed successfully, wrote pacifist articles, in 1939 published a pacifist play, *Falls the Shadow,* travelled.

The war found him in Mexico. In this traditional refuge of slackers he might have remained had conscience not driven him back "to face the quarrel with his own herd," and to strike out at the hypocrisy of a Labor government which boasted of humaneness while hiding away its "crimnos" and its "conchies" in the perpetual rain and cold of mountainous Wenukai, forcing them to work in the icy slush of the stone quarries.

If one is put off by the author's extravagance, excessive profanity, and incessant slang, his picture of prison conditions and brutal control is painfully convincing. Sketches of particular "boob-heads" (prisoners) and fellow C. O.'s whom he divides into "hoons" (politicals and humanitarians like himself), and "religios," hold great human interest. Some of the latter won his boundless respect.

Hamilton's book is powerful. And perhaps his very savagery is but the "anger of love" on behalf of mankind of which that present-day saint, Abbé Pierre, has been telling us. However, like all decentralists, he is pretty vague as to how the world is to be run without organized government.

From Einstein to Oppenheimer the conscience of the nuclear scientist offers a psychological puzzle. The intellectualist in him pleads pursuit of truth. The moral being talks hopefully of averting war. Yet however he justifies himself, he continues to come down on the side of the lethal weapon.

So it was with C. P. Snow's *New Men* in his novel about a group of British scientists working feverishly, and with scant knowledge of American activities, during the war years to perfect the A-bomb before the Germans should get it.

Walter Luke heads the project, while next in order and the book's leading character is Martin Eliot, younger brother of Lewis Eliot, the "I" of the narrative, a Civil Servant close to the experiments. The ambivalent relation between the brothers, caused by the elder's attempted dominance, is the novelist's major theme.

Mischance dogs the scientists' labors. An accident inflicts radioactive burns on Luke and another (later found guilty of betraying secrets to the Russians). Meantime the Great Debate on the bomb's probable use. Those most detached from the moral issue have, in Luke's words, merely hoped to "make Mother Nature sit up and beg." Luke, however, has wanted this toward the end of a fitter world for human beings. Now he desperately desires his British group to get the bomb first "so that we can have some influence in case some maniac wants to use the damn thing." Martin is of those who find it incredible that the bomb should be used to destroy humankind.

It is he, therefore, when April 1945 brings dismaying word of the American bomb, who proposes a delegation to the U.S. to urge joint protest of American and British scientists against the bomb's use on any but an uninhabited island. Again it is Martin, horrified over Hiroshima, who would have voiced public indignation had Lewis not talked him out of it. In being thus deprived of needful moral action, Martin seems to have suffered psychic trauma sufficient to account for subsequent disloyalty toward his chief, and final retirement into "pure science."

Mr. Snow is an accomplished novelist. A physicist of repute, he writes expertly of technical matters. An interesting if baffling book to the pacifist.

Beautiful and satisfying is Hallam Tennyson's portrait of the unique being who for five years has been walking from village to village of India, changing men's hearts—and so their consciences—by the impact of his own pure spirit. This account of the Bhoodan Mission, the land-gift movement which, approved by Nehru's government, is affecting India's whole economy, is the more welcome because offering so much first-hand detail regarding the "Walking Saint." Humorous about his own physical disabilities, the poet's great-grandson tells how he walked miles with Vinoba Bhave's company—walked, that is, when in heat

devastating to a foreigner, he had to all but run to keep up with the gaunt, white-clad prophet's unremitting pace of four miles an hour!

In their years at Sevagram, Gandhi, it seems, so valued Bhave's spiritual qualities as to refer to him as "Teacher." But after Gandhi's death the younger man put aside the mantle the Mahatma's disciples would have thrust upon him, and retired for self-discipline. It was Communist violence in Hyderabad that drew him from his ashram in Panaur and set him in 1951 upon the first of those extraordinary pilgrimages on foot. Poetically Mr. Tennyson pictures the pre-dawn start of that 300-mile journey. Everywhere people would greet the party with garlands and singing.

But it was not for garlands and adulation that Vinoba Bhave would walk through Central India. Too well he knew that what the Communists were saying was terribly true. People were starving for lack of land on which to grow a pittance of food, while heartless landlords were letting thousands of acres lie unplanted. Communists were promising Untouchables land wrested from the rich by force. Bhave had a better plan. He would so change the landlords' hearts that they would give land for the poor, do it because he would "loot them with love!"

So in the wake of the crowds that swarmed about the Walking Saint at prayertime, one by one appeared the landlords, drawn as by a spiritual magnet to the man who ate curds, slept on the ground, chose to have nothing. Reluctant at first, even hostile, in the end they gave what he asked—a dozen acres here, a hundred there, finally a thousand. Between April and June, 1951, Bhave and his workers collected in feudal Hyderabad alone 12,000 acres of free land!

Month by month, year by year, covering hundreds of miles, enlisting more and more workers, with conferences attended by as many as 7,000 Bhoodan presses forward. By August of last year 4 million free acres had been won for re-distribution, with gifts of seed, ploughs, oxen.

Written with distinction, Mr. Tennyson's is a book of ideas. Even those who disagree will be arrested by his contrast between India's two towering figures. Gandhi, he writes, was like the spreading banyan-tree, touching life at many points, and, because enormously human himself, arousing personal devotion as he won his great political victories. Vinoba Bhave, the more intellectual, the more logical, linguist and brilliant mathematician, detached and utterly unself-regarding, lifts men's eyes to the heavens. "Banyan-tree" and "lodestar," then, India's "two poles of sainthood."

—Frances Witherspoon

The New Awakening

Visions Rise and Change, by Pierre Van Paassen. The Dial Press, New York. 1953. 400 pages.

Readers of Fellowship will be interested in this book for two reasons: it is an uncommonly good statement of what has happened and is currently happening to religion in Russia under the Communists, and it is essentially a pacifist document.

On three separate trips to Russia, Pierre Van Paassen talked with all kinds of people——officials and private citizens, clergymen of every rank from lowest to highest, leaders of the anti-religion movement. He

has woven a story that is tragic, gripping, and, in the later phases, inspiring. For despite the most ruthless efforts on the part of government to destroy religion, there are abundant evidences that far from being destroyed, religion is experiencing a come-back of notable proportions.

The story of the older persecutions is well known. Not so well known is the recent definite reversal of policy which not only tolerates religion but discourages the attempts of some of the anti-religious to carry on rather futile efforts at suppression. The Orthodox Church is once more a power to be reckoned with. One gets the impression that having been unsuccessful in eradicating religion, the Communists have resolved to tolerate it, to use it. I am not personally certain which is the greater threat to a real Christian faith. Will it become simply an arm of government as it once was? Van Paassen sees some signs of a new interest being born among the younger clergy in the "here-and-now" problems of the people. They are coming to see that religion must concern itself not alone with the hereafter, but with the present-day needs of man for a good life here. There is no way of knowing how vigorous this movement is, but that it has appeared is most hopeful.

The author's remarks on war deserve to be read by every one. He says: "The atomic weapons which the nations are piling up are not mere excesses of an otherwise rather decent and civilized mode of warfare. They spring from the very nature of war. It is in the perfection of the techniques of nuclear extermination that the demoniac, satanic, anti-god character of war stands fully revealed."

Again, "No doubt Communism forces man to adopt a definite anti-Christian ideology (that the end justifies the means). But does not militarism also include an anti-Christian ideology? A church which silently accepts the ideology of militarism, or actively supports it, forfeits its right to speak against Communism. . . . We have all drifted so far from the Gospel . . . that we believe evil can only be overcome by the threat and ultimate use of force." I do not know where there has been a more forthright assertion of what pacifists regard as the true Christian attitude toward war.

—CHARLES S. BRADEN

Lessons In Understanding

The Whozits. By Frances Williams Browin. Abelard-Schuman, Inc., New York. 1955. 181 pages. $2.50.

A very good novel for children between 10 and 15 years of age is this book about an American family who invite a Polish family to live with them. The Polish family are displaced persons, thin and gaunt without any real knowledge of English. There are problems of prejudice in the book which are successfully overcome, as well as lessons in international understanding.

JOHN SWOMLEY

WHY NOT Let

The Fellowship Christmas Book List

be your Christmas shopping guide this year?

Blood, Sweat and Tears

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I have just finished reading the June issue of FELLOWSHIP which as always proved to be (like the previous issues) stimulating reading. It seems that I only write when I have a "gripe." Sorry—because there is much that is simply superb in every issue of FELLOWSHIP.

My "gripe" this time is the article, "The Other Way." Ugh, how sentimental and unrealistic and completely impossible! It seemed terribly dated, too. I cannot imagine anyone today writing such an article. We know better now. I could wish, however, that you would publish an article about exactly what could happen to individual pacifists here in the U. S. under invasion conditions, or what has happened in countries where pacifists have stood for their beliefs. You have carried some inspiring articles by André Trocmé, for instance. What actually does happen to pacifists during war time is common knowledge to most of us readers of FELLOWSHIP, I think. However, we can always use more such real accounts to prepare ourselves for the future, perhaps. Pacifists in our time are going to suffer the "blood, sweat and tears" of the early Christians. I think it better that your articles face this fact realistically and show us what effect, if any, this individual witnessing will have. I believe that in any case, to the true believer in the pacifist way, regardless of immediate hope and the effect of his personal witness he must hold to pacifism, and that it is eventually by the individual's tiny sacrifice and service that the world will be won. Let's face the facts squarely and present them fairly. Thanks!

MRS. CHESTER M. PATTERSON, JR.
San Jose, Costa Rica

Love or the Courts

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I was greatly surprised by the article of your assistant editor which endorsed, supported and even praised the Workers Defense League, an organization which through court action strives to defend the weak and oppressed.

Court action is based upon armed force. Although the plaintiff need not bear arms himself to secure his rights, he can, through court procedure, cause specialists in the use of arms to use them in his behalf should his opponent be unwilling to abide by the court's decision. Thus—the WDL strives to defend the weak against the oppressor by an indirect use of armed force.

Does not "turning the other cheek" apply also to the weak who are oppressed? Is not this the kind of "defense" a pacifist organ should advocate and praise? Would Christ have fought an evil through court action or would he have conquered it through the application of love?

PAUL W. HARPER
Detroit, Michigan

Petition Dismissed

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

In December, 1948, I came to the United States on an immigrant's visa. I was a British citizen and the wife of an American.

In April 1954, I filed my final papers for naturalization. This involved a special hearing with the examining officer, as I was unable on religious grounds to take the oath of allegiance without clarification. I had already marked "no" under the question of whether or not I would perform combatant or non-combatant duty. There was a third question—would I perform work of national importance under civilian direction in time of national emergency? The examiner was unable to define this work. I said I was unable to do work involving making munitions or plane-spotting, but I would work in a civilian hospital, or do agricultural work, or take care of evacuated children.

I heard nothing for 10 months. Then—in January 1955, I received a letter from the Immigration office.—Petition refused—with the right of appeal within 30 days.

April 25, 1955, I faced Judge Wyzanski of the Boston District Court. My lawyer, Howard Whiteside, legal advisor to the Boston Civil Liberties Union, plead that the oath on the question of whether or not I would perform work of national importance was intended for conscientious objectors. Therefore—I could take the oath. The judge asked—was I willing to let Congress decide what I was to do in time of national emergency, adding that it was extremely unlikely that I should be called on to do anything against my conscience and that in time of national emergency, *all* work was directed toward the war. Then he recessed the court. When I was again called on the stand, he again asked—was I willing, in time of national emergency, to trust Congress to decide what I was to do? I could not—not in that blanket form. "Petition dismissed," said the judge; and that was that.

MARGARET I. ENSIGN
Auburndale, Mass.

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and already it's Christmas.

It's another season.

Traditional, festive, and somehow thoughtful

Think about it.

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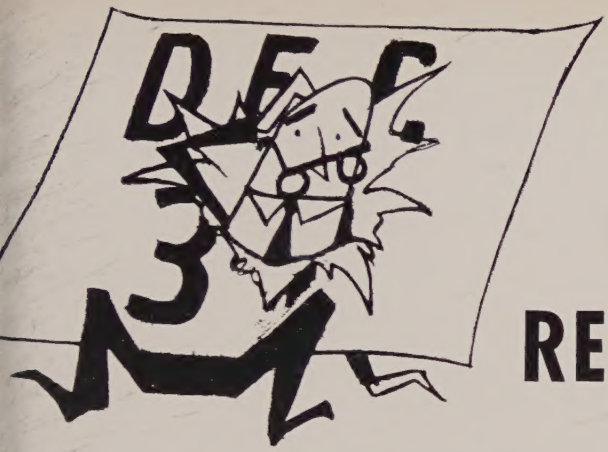

A MILD REMINDER

That Deadline Day for Fellowship Gift Subscriptions, New or Renewal, is December 31, 1955

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